PUDUKKOTTAI STATE

WAR INFORMATION BUREAU

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LECTURE XLII.

WAR AND THE PACIFIC.

OUR subject is "War and the Pacific". By the time it is printed, it may be "War in the Pacific." In fact it might as well read so now, for, though at present without bloodshed, war is being waged already in that ocean, and at an increasing pace.

Perhaps, with so great and numerous anxieties on her hands already, it is fortunate that the Pacific issue is not primarily BRITAIN'S responsibility, though she is naturally vastly interested in the outcome. Of the Four primarily concerned, three are not yet actually embroiled in the World War; only one, AUSTRALIA, is so engaged, by virtue of her place in the Empire. The other three great powers are RUSSIA, JAPAN and AMERICA, and the first of these only contingently. Let us deal shortly with RUSSIA, before proceeding to the principal protagonists. RUSSIA'S Far-Eastern policy has long been a bug-bear of the Japanese. A national adventure in the Pacific would be hardly possible for JAPAN, while RUSSIA was an avowed enemy. Similarly anti-Japanese politicians in RUSSIA would enjoy nothing better than JAPAN'S embroilment in hostilities in the great ocean, south and east of her. If we remember that Messrs. Stalin and Matsuoka have recently signed a Pact

of friendship, it will be enough to justify our classification of the U. S. S. R. as one of the Powers interested in Pacific developments and we may proceed at once to consider JAPAN herself.

JAPAN came into prominence as a world power in the middle of the last century by successfully imitating Western civilisation and industrial methods; later she began to adopt some of their less admirable expansionist theories and in recent times has pursued these power politics in the Far East with all the opportunism and vulgar selfishness with which the other totalitarian States are inspired, and like them, seems to expect that the intended victims of their theory will applaud what they are pleased to call "a new world order!"

Ambitious Japan. JAPAN was an ally of GREAT BRITAIN in the last war. She joined the allies through *amour propre*, believing that her action announced her achievement of equality with the hitherto dominant nations of the Western World. Her presentation of the iniquitous Twenty-one Demands in 1915 aroused general suspicion and disgust, and gave her detractors their opportunity, and in the WASHINGTON Conference of 1921—1922 JAPAN advisedly withdrew most of her demands, evacuated TSINGTAU, and so received little for her part in the war (which, indeed was a small one) except the Mandates for the North Pacific Islands (MARSHALL and CAROLINE). American mistrust of JAPAN continues, however. The WASHINGTON Treaties were almost immediately followed (1924) by the UNITED STATES Exclusion Law, which specifically names the Japanese people as not entitled to even the diminished "quota for immigration" now imposed. This was keenly resented by the Japanese, and determining to try her luck in another quarter they again disclosed their real colours by the notorious memorial of TANAKA in 1927. In that memorial we find the statement "In future, if we wish to control CHINA the primary move is to crush the U. S. A.". In the troublous days of "The Thirties", JAPAN made no further pretensions of amity for the western nations, but openly rebelled against the Concert of Nations. She occupied MANCHUKUO in 1931 and withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933. Her resignation became effective in 1935, and by that time the European scene had been profoundly altered by the advent of Nazi GERMANY, and the propagation of the Totalitarian and Lebensraum doctrines so congenial to the ears of the heirs of Old JAPAN. The appeal acquired fresh point with a revival of

anarchy in CHINA. In July 1937 JAPAN attacked CHINA announcing that JAPAN was thereby "to fulfil her destiny." The Anti-Comintern Pact had been signed with GERMANY in November 1936, and the new Japanese Government now defined its policy as the formation of a new political structure in JAPAN, the successful termination of the war with CHINA and the "establishment of a new order in East ASIA." We are now concerned with the third of these aims.

Commercial rivalries.

It is not easy to define, and so far it has not been very precisely explained by Japanese spokesmen. When diplomatically approached, Japanese foreign spokesmen have coyly retreated behind the phrase that "an enumeration of the countries to be included in the projected sphere would be delicate and difficult and would therefore be destined to a later date." In other and more famous words, the countries interested must "wait and see." Among the countries most affected by the Japanese policy is the UNITED STATES, which has great trade, financial and cultural interests in the lands bordering the Western Pacific, and the American reactions to JAPAN'S dangerously vague theories have become an increasingly important factor in world affairs. The major part of the immense total of American imports from the Southern Pacific (CHINA, INDO-CHINA, the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, the NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES and MALAYA) is made up of tin and rubber from the NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES and MALAYA; hemp, copra and vegetable oils from the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, and tea, raw silk, oilseeds, metals and minerals, (particularly antimony) from CHINA. JAPAN also trades with the NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES, but although she displays rather an ominous degree of interest in that country, her imports thence only amount to about half those of the UNITED STATES. The situation as regards investments is similar, those of the UNITED STATES being estimated at £ 25,000,000; while those of JAPAN stand at less than half that amount. These trade figures, if closely examined, offer an interesting commentary on the Japanese contention that JAPAN has a specially important economic interest in the future of the Dutch possessions; indeed, they lend a good deal of support to the view that Japanese claims are *not* based on commercial equity or fair-mindedness, but merely on the now well-known principle of "Grab while you may". (The only *territorial* interests which the UNITED STATES possesses in East ASIA are the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS and the island of GUAM, both of which were obtained from SPAIN in 1899 after the Spanish-American

war. BRITAIN, of course, has territorial interests in HONGKONG, BRITISH BORNEO and SARAWAK, BRITISH MALAYA and AUSTRALIA.)

Strategic considerations (Oceanic). As a result of the last war JAPAN was given mandatory powers over a number of islands variously known as MARSHALL ISLANDS and CAROLINE ISLANDS, lying somewhere midway between the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS in the west, and the HAWAII ISLANDS in the east (both of which groups belong to the UNITED STATES) and between JAPAN in the north and AUSTRALIA in the south. Now, the chief immediate strategic interest of the UNITED STATES is of course the defence of the Commonwealth of the PHILIPPINES, until such time as it receives independence. A Japanese southward thrust to the NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES past the PHILIPPINES could not therefore leave the UNITED STATES unaffected. It would establish round that American possession a ring of Japanese controlled territory and Japanese naval bases, and make it practically incapable of being defended. If JAPAN were to pursue the same policy even further and acquire French territory in the Pacific, the danger to the UNITED STATES itself would be intensified, since it might be possible for JAPAN to use the French-owned MARIANAS group, in the South Seas as a naval base from which to harass the Panama Canal traffic.

Strategic considerations (Far East). Finally there is the important military obligation on the UNITED STATES to defend the lives and property of her very numerous nationals in the Far East. In the International Settlement of SHANGHAI there are many American citizens, and investments to the tune of over £ 30,000,000. They can only be protected if the UNITED STATES possesses, or has the use of naval and air bases within range of the mainland of East ASIA. These facts explain the recent decisions of the UNITED STATES Government to construct very important air and naval bases in the islands of HONOLULU and PHILIPPINES. PEARL HARBOUR is a case in point. It is 3,379 miles from YOKOHAMA, and in the opposite direction 2,436 from VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA; 2,100 from SAN FRANCISCO; 4,685 from the Panama Canal; and 2,037 from DUTCH-Harbour, the base which the Americans are developing in the ALEUTIAN ISLANDS in the Far North. Admiral Mahan, the great authority on naval strategy, was one of the keenest advocates of this chain of oceanic bases, of which HAWAII was the ideal

centre. For various reasons his advice was not immediately accepted. The UNITED STATES Navy was regarded as essentially a coast-defence fleet, and although the natural resources of the islands made them a desirable possession from the commercial view-point, the idea of a naval base so far-off shore did not then appeal to the majority of American naval officers. During the last few years however, the changed position in the Pacific brought about by Japanese intransigence, the rapid growth in the size of the battleships and the increased complexity of their needs, forced the UNITED STATES take the decision which Admiral Mahan had so long advocated. The result has been that during the last few years the greater part of the UNITED STATES battle fleet has generally been in the Pacific, often concentrated in PEARL HARBOUR, escorted by powerful formations of destroyers, and submarines, including some of the biggest in the UNITED STATES Navy. First-class accommodation has also been built for a very large number of aircraft, and the shore defences are now manned by a big military garrison.

British Interests. Nor have American eyes alone been watchful. BRITAIN has been noting the acquisitive and aggressive character of JAPAN with some concern. To many it appeared inevitable that trouble of a major kind would one day present itself, once JAPAN was allowed to establish herself on CHINA's mainland, and in MANCHURIA. Five or six years of 'incidents' and general uneasiness (subsequent to our 'loss of face' in the League over the successful Japanese aggression in MANCHURIA) have been followed, since the CHINA war, by open Japanese antagonism and defiance to British interests in the Chinese Treaty Ports. Trouble culminated in Japanese demands that BRITAIN should close the BURMA road, by which route supplies from BRITAIN and AMERICA were steadily reaching CHINA. The British Government immediately consulted WASHINGTON and two possible policies were outlined: (1) resistance to the Japanese demands and the imposition of an embargo on JAPAN, or (2) compromise and settlement with JAPAN, by conceding a minimum number of points in the hope that JAPAN would keep quiet until BRITAIN had had time to resist the German attacks. LONDON asked WASHINGTON to decide which policy should be followed, agreeing to be entirely guided by their decision. The UNITED STATES, increasingly aware that American interests would be jeopardised—to say the least-more by a German victory than by further Japanese aggression,

evinced no desire to adopt a policy which would divert American attention from EUROPE at a crucial moment. WASHINGTON saw as clearly as LONDON that victory in the Far East could scarcely compensate for defeat in EUROPE, while British victory in EUROPE would permit BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES to deal with JAPAN later. BRITAIN had thus no alternative but to compromise with JAPAN, and the BURMA road was closed for three months.

Nazi propaganda naturally made the most of the difficulties attending these intricate negotiations, but with BRITAIN's successful rout of the German invasion plans, and the growth of pro-British and even pro-war sentiment in the U S. A. a firmer stand against Japanese expansionism has been possible. There is to-day complete co-operation between BRITAIN and the UNITED STATES on Far Western as well as Far Eastern matters. The BURMA road has been reopened, and much to Japanese resentment, the island of GUAM has been fortified and made into an American naval station. It forms a magnificent base on the line of communication from the UNITED STATES to the PHILIPPINES, and lies right in the centre of the Japanese Archipelagos and within 1,500 miles of the main Japanese islands.

Other countries involved in the problem.

Two other countries vitally interested in the strategic situation in the Far East and the Pacific are THAILAND and INDO-CHINA. Before the War broke out, the THAI Government offered FRANCE and BRITAIN the use of THAILAND's air-fields and fuelling stations, asking in return a guarantee of her independence. But the catastrophe in the west was JAPAN's opportunity, and THAILAND's internal situation was an additional inducement to her to put her oar in. The THAI régime was then a clique led by Luang Bipul Songgran, who combined in himself the offices of Prime Minister, of Defence, of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior JAPAN played on his intense nationalism, offered to support THAILAND's long-standing territorial claims on INDO-CHINA, and hinted that with VICHY's impotence the time for action had come. Fighting broke out between THAILAND and INDO-CHINA and both were abetted by JAPAN. It was soon obvious that neither side had any heart for the continuation of the fight, and fell easily into JAPAN's trap in the shape of mediation. The whole affair proclaims itself a piece of JAPAN's general strategy, which was further confirmed when, a positive barrage of speeches in TOKYO announced that JAPAN was out to

establish a New Order in the East! A "League for the Emancipation of South-Eastern Asiatic Nations" was founded whose aim is to "free the 500,000,000 people of ANNAM, COCHIN CHINA, the EAST INDIES, the MALAY PENINSULA, BURMA, INDIA and the PHILIPPINES"!

The extravagance of this project should not blind us to the ruthless and formidable expansionist diplomacy of JAPAN, which has cold and calculating logic behind it. The concentration of troops in FORMOSA and HAINAN, the gradual building up of the Army of Occupation in INDO-CHINA, and above all the creation of a Naval base near SAIGON, only some 850 miles from SINGAPORE or MANILA, are all obvious preliminaries to putting a military sting into the economic pressure which is being exerted on the Dutch to-day—and perhaps will be brought to bear on MALAYA to-morrow.

On the other hand, a glance at a map of the South Seas discloses that, so long as 3,000 sea miles separate JAPAN from the riches of JAVA and SUMATRA, so long as the PHILIPPINES, with American naval squadrons at MANILA, lie in between, and the British Commonwealth remains on guard at SINGAPORE, the Japanese "New Order" is likely to remain a wild hope in the minds of the Black Dragon Society, especially since BRITAIN has not been idle in the meanwhile. Foreseeing JAPAN'S strategic moves SINGAPORE has been enormously fortified, and the principle of American-British reciprocation in the matter of naval bases having been established, Mr. Matsuoka's latest claim for the expulsion of all the white races from Oceania is hardly likely to be realised.

Singapore.

To us in INDIA particularly, SINGAPORE as one of the principal gateways to the Pacific is worth a short separate notice. The majority of Indians have taken their stand against the ghastly doctrines of Nazism, and rightly realise that SINGAPORE is one of INDIA'S own important outposts against Totalitarianism. The manning of that great fortress has therefore been largely undertaken by INDIA. Sir Shenton Thomas, the Governor of the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS and High Commissioner for the MALAY STATES, has written an introduction to a recent booklet "Indian Troops in MALAYA 1939–41" which has just been published in SINGAPORE by the Indian Troops Entertainments Committee. The booklet contains a series of articles and pictures surveying some of the activities of units of the Indian Army during their service with the MALAYA Command. The following passage occurs in that book :—

"When Captain Light hoisted the British flag in PENANG in 1786, he had a few Indian soldiers as his guard, and so forged a link between the Indian Army and MALAYA which has never been broken. To-day, we are more proud than ever that this should be so, because, MALAYA is now an advance post in the defence of INDIA, and so of the British Empire throughout the East. It is a fine thing that, in these days of peril, units of the Indian Army with its glorious record spread over so many years should be here, and in many other countries too, ready and able to fight for the Freedom of the World."

SINGAPORE is a base of tremendous strength, and is amply provided with everything necessary for defensive warfare. BRITAIN has already spent over £ 35,000,000 on converting it into a first-class fortress. It is held to be impregnable from the sea, while its guns will certainly exact respect from attackers by land, in whatever force they arrive. It is also known that British air forces there—so mighty a factor in the problem of defence—have been tremendously increased, and it is not at all certain that the whole Japanese air force would be able to cope with the British squadrons already at SINGAPORE. With the assistance of those which have now arrived from AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, and AMERICA, the problem before the Japanese Navy seems insuperable, even if she should consider the reduction of SINGAPORE a *sine qua non* for her adventures in the Pacific. Indeed the defences of SINGAPORE are so formidable that it seems hard to believe that JAPAN will embark on so hazardous a venture.

Thus it is that British colonies, dominions and possessions in the China Seas, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, particularly the countries of AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND have come to regard SINGAPORE as a kind of eastern Capital of the Empire, and their greatest guarantee of security, while General Sir Robert Cassels some months ago called special attention to its importance for the defence of INDIA itself. That the mother country herself realises its great importance is shown by the fact that she has sent a very able and senior R. A. F. officer Air Marshal Sir Robert Brooke Popham to command the fortress and the troops of all arms there. What is even more apposite to our subject are the recent reports of Sir Robert's extensive Pacific tour, in the course of which he had important conversations with the commanders of the American Army and Navy. JAPAN is obviously being made "to think several times" before she does anything in the South Pacific in aid of

the Axis, or in pursuance of her grandly phrased "New Order in the East and in the South", but whether Hitler intends to force her into open war lies on the lap of the Gods. If he does, one is inclined to be sorry for JAPAN!

APPENDIX.

STRATEGIC SITUATION IN THE PACIFIC
ISLAND BASES COVERING DUTCH COLONIES
VALUE TO LONG-RANGE AIRCRAFT

by

Captain Cyril Falls

(In a recent B. B. C. Talk)

What is the present strategic situation in the Pacific Ocean? This is a question affecting every country with a Pacific coastline. Captain Cyril Falls, Military Correspondent of the **Times**, *explains the geographical considerations which govern naval, military, and air dispositions in this vast area.*

On the 24th March, the Headquarters of the Japanese Expeditionary Force in China announced that that morning its troops had made a new landing in Kwangchow Bay, which is in Kwangtung Province and not very far from Hongkong. This is the latest of a series of landings along the coast of South China, with the avowed design of strengthening the blockade and preventing supplies from reaching the Chinese Government at Chungking.

I shall not attempt to give the dispositions of the Japanese army in Southern China, because the figures are in dispute, but it is known that Japan has considerable forces in that area as well as at Hainan, the big island off the coast of French Indo-China, which she took from China two years ago. She also has aircraft on Hainan, and there are reports that the airfields already established there have recently been enlarged. Japan has also troops on the island of Formosa.

The other important elements in the strategic situation in the Far East and the Pacific are the dispute between Thailand and Indo-China, where Japan has assumed the part of mediator; the strengthening of the garrison at Singapore by Australian troops; the position of the rich Dutch East Indies,

which adhere to the Queen of the Netherlands and depend to some extent on British protection; the increased fortification of United States bases in the Pacific; and, of course, the visit of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Matsuoka, to Berlin.

I am going to deal chiefly with the Pacific, but first of all, a word about the Australians at Singapore. You may think it is belated comment, as it is nearly six weeks since they landed. But my particular point has not been made, so far as I have noticed.

As you all know, **Australia has the absolute disposal of her own forces.** The General Staff at the War Office can say how it would like them employed, but the Australian Government has the last say in the matter. **It shows a very sound strategic sense on the part of Australia that she should recognise that her own territory and her communications with the rest of the Empire can be defended at Singapore.**

She has shown the same quality earlier in the war, and indeed in the last war too, when she sent her forces to take part in the defence of the Suez Canal, but perhaps her interests and those of the Empire in the Suez Canal were rather more obvious than at Singapore. Yet Singapore, straddling the route between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, is of immense importance also. It is likewise, probably, **the most perfect and most strongly fortified colonial naval base in the world.**

IMPORTANCE OF ISLANDS

The first and most obvious thing one notices as one glances at the map of the Pacific is the manner in which it is studded with islands. These have always had a strategic significance, but since the day of the long-range aircraft—a comparatively recent day—their importance has greatly increased.

Get hold of a map showing which of these islands have been fortified and are used as air and naval bases or as both. This will give you some interesting food for thought.

From the west coast of the United States, if you start at San Diego, which is in itself a base, your eye runs along a line of fortified bases going straight across the Pacific. First comes Honolulu, something over 2,000 miles out. Then Wake Island, something under 2,000 miles further on. Then Guam, only another 1,200 or 1,300 miles further. Then finally, Manila in the Philippines. **And Manila is only about 600 miles odd from Hongkong.**

But this single line of bases straight across the Pacific doesn't represent quite the whole story. Lying to the north of it and forming roughly an equilateral triangle with Honolulu and Wake, is Midway, so named because it is supposed to be half way across the Pacific between America and Asia.

Then up in the north, in the United States' Alaskan territory, is Dutch Harbour.

JAPANESE BASES

Japan also has bases pushed out into the Pacific, Yap and the Palau Islands lying in a straight line south of the United States base of Guam, and fairly close to the Philippines. It reminds one of a chess board.

Great Britain has no such strong island bases in the Pacific, but she has Hongkong in addition to Singapore, and troops of the Empire are established at Fiji. South and south-west of the American and Japanese bases lie the islands of the Dutch East Indies.

Three of these islands, New Guinea, Borneo and Sumatra, are among the largest in the world. But New Guinea is about two-thirds British, and Borneo about a third or a quarter. These Dutch East Indies are rich in many of the products which are in demand to-day, and they represent the greater part of the free Dutch Empire; that is to say, with Holland itself in the hands of the Nazis, they are the main territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which is an ally of Great Britain.

DUTCH INDIES AND SINGAPORE

They have their own defence forces, both Dutch and Malay, land, air and sea. But, as I said before, they depend to a considerable extent upon British aid for their defence. Then Singapore is, so to speak, only a stone's throw from Sumatra, the most westerly of the big islands.

This system of bases dotted about the Pacific represents a comparatively new feature of strategy. Most of them have only small garrisons of troops, except for the American base at Manila, and of course our base at Singapore.

On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the troops commonly consists of artillery, to guard the special facilities assembled on the island. These facilities consist of fuelling stations for warships and airships, airfields and stores of preserved food.

The fortified islands are, above all else, hopping stations for long-range aircraft, and the long chain of United States bases which I have described are the principal means by which the United States air force, and to a certain extent the navy, protect the trade of the country and its general interests in the Pacific.

This partial view of the map leads to the conclusion that these American bases are defensive rather than offensive. It will be noticed that the main line of fortified islands does not run in the direction of Japan, but straight across towards the coast of French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies.

INTEREST OF AMERICA.

And **America makes no secret of her interest in the integrity of these Dutch possessions.** The chain terminates at Manila, which is so much the most important that it may be described as a big locket at the end of the chain, the other minor bases forming the links. And Manila covers the Dutch East Indies from the north, while Singapore lies on the western flank and Australia lies south and south-east.

Just one final word about Singapore itself. I have spoken of it as being on the mainland, but it is also actually on an island, at the toe of the long Malay peninsula, and is linked to Johore by a causeway. The naval base lies on the north side in the Strait of Johore on the opposite side to the city of Singapore itself. The work on this base was begun in 1923, suspended by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald the year after, and resumed when a Conservative Government returned to power. Its loading dock will take ships up to 50,000 tons. The most modern and powerful field artillery has been installed for defence, and the fortifications are the last word in military science.

As you know, we sent there not long ago a senior Royal Air Force Officer, Air Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, as Commander-in-Chief in the Far East. The Senior General Staff Officer is Major-General Dewey.

Such is the general situation in the Pacific and South-Eastern Asia. **Though the United States is not at war, while we are, the objects of the two countries are more or less similar. We threaten no one.** Our objects are defensive, that is to maintain our trade and other interests, and to insure the integrity of the Dutch East Indies.

Once before in British history, during the Napoleonic wars, we had a similar responsibility for the Dutch East Indies. We defeated the French forces, but we did not hang on to those valuable islands. When peace came, they were handed back to Holland. Some people, who may have had a bit of the Nazi mentality in them, said at the time, "Isn't it rather a risk, handing them back to a small power like Holland? Wouldn't it be safer if we looked after them, after all the fighting we have done to preserve them, and all the workmen like Stamford Raffles have put into them?"

Well those arguments were brushed aside, and I am sure rightly; though we should have had the excuse that many Dutch troops under Dutch generals had actually fought for the French.

To-day, I am absolutely sure, we shall do our best to see that these old Dutch possessions maintain their integrity, and that after the war they shall be rejoined to Holland through the links of the Queen of the Netherlands and the Dutch Government, their present and rightful rulers.

WEEKLY WAR SUMMARY.

24—4—41 to 1—5—41.

THE BALKANS.

AFTER the capitulation of the main Greek army through exhaustion, after six long months of glorious fighting, the Nazi hordes swept through the pass of THERMOPYLAE and have occupied ATHENS, and the South Coast of PELOPONNESUS. The British Imperial troops, which came to assist their brave allies, have withdrawn from the scene of the conflict, and 80% of the evacuation has already been carried out with safety.

It is sad to contemplate that the Swastika should fly over the City of ATHENS, the 'eye of GREECE' and 'the mother of Arts and Eloquence', but as General Smuts, Lord Halifax, and Mr. Churchill have all pointed out, these enemy successes, however spectacular, are but incidents in the titanic struggle which will be ultimately fought out round BRITAIN. The foe may meanwhile win many victories, but the war will be won by BRITAIN, in the final issue.

Weighing the profit and loss of the Greek campaign, one can easily see what BRITAIN has gained in spite of the Nazi victory. GERMANY, it is true, has scored a success which has enhanced her prestige as a fighting machine, a factor which she is already making the fullest use of, for propaganda purposes. It has also released ITALY from the Greek clutches, though the Italian claim to have defeated the Greeks is, as has been pointed out, 'surely the world's record in the domain of the ridiculous and contemptible.' A long term view shows that BRITAIN in spite of the Greek surrender, has actually gained in certain matters. Out of evil cometh good. Firstly, Nazis were forced into a BALKAN war which they were most anxious to avoid. This campaign of two months has not only upset the Nazis' time-tables but their plans also, and has cost them enormously in men and material. Had BRITAIN not undertaken the campaign GERMANY would still have subjugated YUGOSLAVIA and GREECE, but without any loss. The British use of CRETE as a valuable base would have been impossible if GREECE had surrendered without a struggle. GERMANY has now not only been deprived of the supplies of

food and certain war materials which she hoped to obtain from these countries but has now to spend out of her failing resources to keep the countries in order and restore their damaged communications.

AFRICA.

In NORTH AFRICA the enemy has occupied SOLLUM, crossing the Egyptian Frontier. The British are solidly entrenched at TOBRUK, threatening the rear. The R. A. F. has been busy over BENGHAZI, DERNA and EL GAZALA, inflicting heavy damage.

In ABYSSINIA the Imperial troops captured DESSIE on Saturday and SOCOTA on Sunday. The Sudan forces have taken FORT MOTA and the South African Forces are advancing upon AMBA ALAGI, 200 miles from DESSIE and 9,000 feet high.

AIR RAIDS.

The R. A. F. attacks over GERMANY and its occupied areas continue with increasing damage to the enemy. KIEL has been visited four days in succession. WILHELMSHAVEN, HAMBURG, BREST and MANNHEIM were heavily punished.

During the week, the enemy concentrated his attack on PLYMOUTH, visiting it three nights in succession and inflicting serious losses. During Monday's raid alone 10,000 incendiaries were dropped. As Mr. Herbert Morrison, Minister for Home Security has observed, 'A Battle of the Flames' is being waged, which is as important as any battle of tanks in the Middle East or of ships in the Atlantic. To win this battle 2,000,000 fire-fighters—mostly volunteers—have already been employed Fire-fighting equipment has been increased at least 25%. All male subjects between 16 and 60 in the City of LONDON, with a few exceptions will be requisitioned for fire-fighting service as necessary.

THE BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC

In his great speech of April 27, Mr. Churchill asked:—' But how about our life-line across the Atlantic?', and answered:—

" We have taken and are taking all possible measures to beat this deadly attack and we are now fighting against it. This is what is called the Battle of the Atlantic, which, in order to survive, we have got to win, as decisively as we had to win the Battle of BRITAIN last August and September in the air."

"Still, when you think how easy it is to sink ships at sea and how hard it is to build and protect them........., can you wonder that it is the battle of the Atlantic that holds the first place in the thoughts of those upon whom rests the responsibility for securing the Victory."

It was therefore with indescribable relief, continued Mr. Churchill, that he learnt of the tremendous decision lately taken by the President of the UNITED STATES to order the American Fleet and Flying Boats to patrol the wide waters of the Western Hemisphere and to warn peaceful shipping of all nations outside the Combat Zone, of the presence of lurking U-boats or raiding-cruisers belonging to the aggressor nations.

Heartening messages communicating this invaluable assistance are coming from the other side of the Atlantic. On April 24, Col. Frank Knox, Secretary for the Navy, U. S. A., declared, "Having gone thus far, we can only go on." In a recent broadcast Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, U. S. A., stated "ways must be found to ensure that aid to BRITAIN reaches its destination and at the maximum capacity."

President Roosevelt has also pointed out the difference between *Convoys escorting merchantmen* and a *patrol for reconnaissance*, and stated that the patrol system which had already been operating for a year and a half as far as a thousand miles of sea would be further extended as necessary by sending out 'neutrality patrols' even into areas, declared as "War Zones" by GERMANY. This is generally believed to be a further step taken towards convoying.

SPAIN.

According to a LISBON correspondent of the *News Chronicle*, SPAIN is likely to join the Axis and make a bid for GIBRALTAR. She may also join the war complaining that the British blockade has brought about food-shortage in her areas. German troops are reported to be concentrated in the BAYONNE area and the PYRENNEES, but VICHY has yet to permit, it is said, the passage of troops through Occupied FRANCE.

IRAQ.

Another danger zone is IRAQ where the British intend to land fresh troops but the Iraqi Government object to a fresh landing before the first batch landed earlier has not left. This has led to complications.

PORTUGAL.

GERMANY is now adopting towards PORTUGAL the same attitude as that taken towards NORWAY, HOLLAND and BELGIUM before they were invaded. The usual pretext that BRITAIN intends to establish itself in PORTUGAL is alleged. There is intensive diplomatic activity to bring PORTUGAL into the orbit of the New Order.

TURKEY.

The air is thick with rumours of enemy's diplomatic activities in TURKEY.

RUSSIA.

Soon after concluding the Neutrality Pact with Japan, RUSSIA has banned the entry of foreign travellers into MANCHURIA, in order to mask, as it is believed, mass movements of troops from the Far East to the West. According to Japanese reports RUSSIA has now gained a free hand in CENTRAL ASIA and the Middle East to expand the Soviet bloc. It is rumoured that RUSSIA is demanding the right to occupy certain Iranian provinces and is concentrating troops in the region of the TIFLIS.

The Japanese operations along the coasts of CHEKIANG and FUKIEN are supposed to be a prelude to a forthcoming move towards the Southern Pacific.

The British Embassy has announced the grant to CHINA of a new British credit of £ 5,000,000.

The UNITED STATES and CHINA have signed an agreement called the Sino-American Stabilisation Fund. The UNITED STATES is purchasing £ 12,500,000 worth of Chinese Currency.

R.A.F. Raids over ENEMY and ENEMY-occupied Territories.

Date.	Targets.	R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
21—4—41. (Monday).			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	Reconnaissance over Enemy territories	...	...
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	The aerodromes and aircraft on the ground at DERNA and ELGAZALA. **Motor transport concentrations** at BARDIA and CAPUZZO.	No loss.	Many aircraft on the ground destroyed. Fires and explosions started.

Date.	Targets.	R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
21—4—41. (Monday).—*cont.*			
	ITALIAN AFRICA—*cont.*		
	Air encounters in CYRENAICA ...	1 plane slightly damaged.	1 plane.
	The harbour and military buildings at TRIPOLI.		Heavily damaged.
	Occupied-GREECE.		
	Enemy occupied Aerodromes in Northern GREECE including that at SEDES.	No loss	Fires started. Many planes on the ground damaged
22—4—41. (Tuesday).			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	DAY :—		
	A heavily laden supply ship and a minesweeper off the coast of NORWAY.	No loss	The supply ship sunk and the mine-sweeper damaged.
	NIGHT :—		
	The FRENCH ATLANTIC port and the two GERMAN cruisers sheltering at BREST.	...	Heavily damaged.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Aerial fight over the TOBRUK area ...	No loss.	4 planes shot down and many others damaged.
	GERMAN motor transport and enemy troops in the TOBRUK area.	...	Heavy casualties and damage.
	Shipping and harbour at BENGHAZI...	...	2 ships damaged.
	BARCE. ...	...	...
	The landing ground at ALOMATA ...	...	3 planes destroyed.
	Aerial combat over DEBRAMARKOS.		1 plane.
	DODECANESE Islands.		
	The aerodrome at CALATO	No loss	Damaged.
	The main harbour of RHODES	No loss	Explosions started.

3

Date.	Targets.	R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
23—4—41. (Wednesday).			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	DAY :—		
	The power station at IBBENBUREN (near OSNABRUCK).		Violent explosion in the main building.
	A wireless station on the DUTCH Island of TERSCHELLING.		Troops near by machine-gunned.
	Enemy shipping off the DUTCH coast.	1 plane	1 vessel sunk.
	NIGHT :—		
	The Naval Base and the two German Battle-cruisers at BREST **LA HAVRE**	No loss	Many fires started.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Aerial fight over TOBRUK ...	3 planes 2 pilots safe.	8 planes.
	Shipping and the harbour at TRIPOLI		Ships hit.
	The harbour at BENGHAZI ...	...	Big fires started.
	Enemy aircraft dispersed at DERNA.	...	Many damaged.
	Enemy motor transport concentrations and troops in CYRENAICA.	...	Machine-gunned; damaged.
	BALKANS.		
	Enemy positions, motor transport and communications behind the main front.	...	Heavy casualties.
24—4—41. (Thursday).			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	DAY :—		
	An enemy tanker off the NORWEGIAN coast.		Set on fire and was completely destroyed..
	A wireless station on an island near the coast of NORWAY.		A building demolished.
	German fighters on the ground at their aerodromes in Northern FRANCE.	1 plane.	Many planes damaged.
	NIGHT :—		
	The naval base, shipyards and industrial areas at KIEL.		Numerous fires and explosions started.
	The naval base at WILHELMSHAVEN.	2 planes.	...
	Docks and other objectives on the coasts of NORWAY, HOLLAND, FRANCE and BELGIUM.	...	...

Date.	Targets.	R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
24—4—41.	**(Thursday.)**—*cont.*		
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	A warehouse, a sea plane, hangar and Government offices in TRIPOLI harbour.		Severely damaged.
	A convoy of motor transport in BENGHAZI.		
	Enemy transport and mechanised units in CYRENAICA	No loss.	A considerable number of vehicles destroyed.
	Enemy aircraft dispersed on landing grounds at DERNA and EL GAZALA.	No loss.	4 planes.
	Aerial fight over TOBRUK ...	No loss.	4 planes.
	Enemy motor transport and gun emplacements in ABYSSINIA ...	...	...
	Support to our troops in ABYSSINIA.	...	...
	BALKANS.		
	Patrolling over GREECE ...	1 plane.	...
25—4—41.	**(Friday).**		
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	DAY :—		
	A supply ship of 16,000 tons, one mile up the NIEUWE waterway.		Sunk.
	Small ships and a military camp on the DUTCH coast.		Ships set on fire.
	Iron and steel works at IJMUIDEN ...		Furnaces hit.
	NIGHT :—		
	Factory buildings on the GERMAN island of BALTRUM.		
	Railways and two wireless stations in DENMARK.	2 planes	
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	The harbour and the ships at BENGHAZI.		
	An enemy convoy near ELEAGRUB ...		Explosions heard.
	Motor transport and enemy troop concentrations near ACROME and DERNA.		Many vehicles destroyed.
	The Aerodrome at COMBOLCIA (in ABYSSINIA).		2 planes damaged.
	Enemy troops at JIMMA and ARGIO.	1 plane.	
	Air battles over TOBRUK ...		Many planes shot do wn

Date	Targets.	R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
26—4—41.	**(Saturday.)**		
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	DAY :—		
	Offensive patrols over Northern FRANCE aud CHANNEL.	2 planes.	3 planes.
	NIGHT :—		
	Industrial and dock areas in HAMBURG.	...	Fires started.
	EMDEN, BREMERHAVEN and **CUXHAVEN.**	...	...
	Docks at LE HAVRE and IJMUIDEN.	...	...
	Enemy supply ship off NORWAY ...	...	Sunk.
	An aerodrome in NORWAY ...	...	Damaged.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	The harbour and the ships at BENGHAZI.		
	Oil tankers and other vehicles moving between DERNA and BARCE.		Set on fire.
	Fortifications and troops at CHELGA and BAHRDAR.	No loss.	Heavy casualties.
27—4—41.	**(Sunday.)**		
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	DAY :—		
	A factory and buildings near COLOGNE.	...	Buildings crashed.
	NIGHT :—		
	A military camp near COLOGNE ...		
	Docks at IJMUIDEN		
	An aerodrome at DEEKOOY ...		Damaged.
	An enemy patrol vessel off the coast of BRITTANY.		Sunk.
	Gun positions and a train in HOLLAND.	No loss.	Battered.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Enemy motor vehicles and a patrol dump at ALOMATA.		Fires started.
	Military buildings at GIMMA ...	No loss.	

ENEMY Raids over BRITAIN, BRITISH and ALLIED Territories.

Date.	Targets.	Enemy aircraft losses.	R. A. F. losses and results of air bombardment.
22—4—41. (Tuesday).			
	BRITAIN.		
DAY :—			
	South-east ENGLAND ...	1 plane.	No damage.
NIGHT :—			
	PLYMOUTH ...	...	Heavy damage.
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	MALTA ...	...	Slight damage.
23—4—41. (Wednesday).			
	BRITAIN.		
NIGHT :—			
	A town in South-west ENGLAND ...	...	Damage slight.
	A few points in South-east and North-east ENGLAND.	...	A few casualties and a little damage.
	South WALES ...	...	......
	GREECE.		
	The harbour and ships at PIRAEUS, **SALAMIS**, **ATTICA** and **MEGARA**.	1 plane.	Ships damaged and a few casualties.
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	MALTA ...	...	Civilians killed.
24—4—41. (Thursday).			
	BRITAIN.		
DAY :—			
	Aerial encounter off the South coast, and off the SUSSEX coast.	2 planes.	......
NIGHT :—			
	South-east, and North-east ENGLAND	...	Very few casualties.
25—4—41. (Friday.)			
	BRITAIN.		
NIGHT :—			
	North-east ENGLAND, East and North-east coasts of SCOTLAND. **Isolated points** in North-west ENGLAND.	1 plane.	Casualties few and damage slight.

Date.	Targets.	Enemy aircraft losses.	R. A. F. losses and results of air bombardment.
25—4—41.	**(Friday)**—*cont.*		
	GREECE.		
	An R. A. F. aerodrome in GREECE.	...	Some planes on the ground damaged.
26—4—41.	**(Saturday).**		
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	Northern ENGLAND and the MIDLANDS.		Slight damage.
	NIGHT :—		
	LONDON (only an alert.)	...	......
27—4—41.	**(Sunday).**		
	BRITAIN.		
	A town in South coast of ENGLAND. **Towns** in South-west ENGLAND and North-east coast of SCOTLAND.	1 plane.	Slight damage and a few casualties.
	PORTSMOUTH ...		Heavy damage.
28—4—41.	**(Monday).**		
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	North-east coast of SCOTLAND ...	...	...
	East and North-east coasts of ENGLAND.	...	...
	NIGHT :—		
	South-west ENGLAND, South WALES and East ANGLIA.	...	Slight damage and a few casualties.

SIDE LIGHTS.

Cheer up! The week's news has not been too cheerful—except in spots—and the prestige of Hitler's armies has had a fillip by reason of the technical perfection of their ponderous thrust down through the BALKANS. (The vicarious reputation of the German soldier, vicarious because their victories are due more to overwhelming weight of men and machines, ably handled by utterly ruthless staff work—pales

completely before the undying glory that surrounds the indomitable little Greeks, or these magnificent and terrible fighters of ours from AUSTRALASIA). There is, however, no reason to pull a long face, peer fearfully into the future, or—worst of all—snort with anger or whine with disappointment against our leaders who withdrew too large forces from LIBYA, or didn't put large enough forces into GREECE to produce victory or avoid setbacks on either front.

*   *   *   *   *

And see it big! In this war we've got to take the rough with the smooth, and perhaps for the time being, more rough than smooth, but the vital fact remains that the war is not going to be won in the BALKANS only, or in the Mediterranean only, or in the Atlantic only, etc., etc. It is a vast affair of action and reaction, between two mighty sets of principles, i. e., Maritime Power *V.* Continental Power, Good *V.* Evil.

This BALKAN battle is actually one of the reactions. Hitler didn't want to make war in the BALKANS; he thought he could get all he wanted without war. What forced him into war there was his failure to invade and subdue BRITAIN last year, and the blow to his doctrine and prestige when two small countries raised the banner of liberty in valiant derision against the New Order. Whatever his tactical advantage in this sector of the vast war-map, the strategic initiative was not his, but ours.

If he wins this comparatively minor issue, even if thereby he acquires a few more toadies among the watching nations, he simultaneously further antagonises the Power which counts most of all, and American help which may have been too late for this round will not be too late for the next—and following—rounds of the contest.

Comforting Reminder. Further, when we are worsted — or apparently worsted—in an engagement or a campaign, it is as well to remember, as Hitler doubtless remembers to his dis-ease, how enormously stronger his enemy *par excellence* is than she was when she was taken unawares in the toils of war.

(1) The actual strength of the British and Imperial Armies has naturally not been officially stated, but it seems certain that they now number *many millions*—of which a very large proportion are first-line and first-class troops, and are steadily growing in numbers.

(2) The British Navy, with additions still exceeding losses, and with performance equal to its age-old reputation, is and will remain indisputably supreme on the Seven Seas.

(3) In the air, the terrible leeway we had to face at the beginning of hostilities, has been very nearly made up, while the rate of that overtaking is now so rapid that *this year we shall approach mastery of the air*. I do not speak without my book. A recent international air expert has published the following careful and conservative figures :—

	G–B.	Imperial.	U.S.A.	Germany.
Present Total strength ...	?	?	?	35,000
,, First-line ,, ...	?	?	?	6 to 7,000
Present Monthly output ...	1,650	?	800/1000	2,000
Monthly output after about July.	1,650 to 1,800	?	1,600 to 1,800	2,000 to 1,800

The question-marks in the first two lines are not important; and we *know* that our performance is better than the enemy's by at least three to one. The queries in the last two lines only ADD to the tremendous upward sweep of Allied production, compared with the falling off from peak-production estimated for the Germans.

(4) Add to this, that one of the two major enemies of BRITAIN—ITALY—is practically 'out', in the air, on land, and at sea!

No wonder that there is not a single responsible minister, British, Imperial or American, who thinks that we CAN lose the war!

Precept and Practice. I have just listened to Col. Knox's stirring if tempered prognostication about American protection at sea for her own freighters. It was most cheering, but when assessing the significance of American news it is as well to distinguish between events and actions as such, and the intentions, desires and opinions of her public men. The latter are more frequent and more striking than the former, and people who accept these alone may be prone to feel in time that the U. S. A. is promising more than she is performing! In so free a country, there is almost nothing that is not open to public discussion. The public is allowed to think aloud, which is more than they can do in Axis countries, where only DECISIONS become public pabulum, decisions taken in secret by the leaders, and published without comment or explanation by loudspeakers.

That is why we have four classes of American news to assimilate :—

(a) The statements of public men like Wendell Willkie, Senator Glass, Mr. Kennedy, etc., and the Press. THESE ARE EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION ONLY.

(*b*) Statements at Press Conferences, and over the radio of Government spokesmen, Roosevelt, Stimson, Cordell Hull, Knudsen and so on. THESE DISPLAY THE WISHES and POLICY OF GOVERNMENT, but NOT its ACTS.

(*c*) Proposals before Congress. These may or may not become law. They have to be passed by both Houses and receive the President's signature before they have force.

(*d*) Acts of Government, under its constitutional powers, or under special powers conferred by law.

The Difference. Here are some examples of each. Concentrate on class (*d*). It will avoid disappointment over the other three.

(*a*) (i) 75 destroyers were to be transferred to BRITAIN on the passage of the Lease and Lend Bill. They have not materialised yet, because this boon was only 'reported.'

(ii) During March the *Journal of Commerce*, a widely-read and responsible official publication, was prompted from American sources to announce that 140 American freighters were soon to be transferred to BRITAIN, and also that 500 cargo-ships were to be built for BRITAIN.

(iii) On March 28 Senator Glass declared that American warships would be used to convoy supplies to BRITAIN. Yet even in Mr. Churchill's great speech of to-day, he does not endorse any of these expectations. They are merely samples of what some, even most, Americans WOULD LIKE TO DO, which is not the same as actual performance.

(*b*) Examples of "what the American Government is thinking of" are these :—

(i) The British Navy might be given certain U. S. A. dockyard facilities.

(ii) U. S. first-aid to BRITAIN *would be* certain light surface craft. These two prophecies of Col. Knox have actually materialised but *considerably later* than they were uttered.

(*c*) On March 19 there was a proposal before the American Congress to send cotton to BRITAIN under the Lease and Lend Bill.

Has anyone heard of this since ?

(*d*) BUT NOW LET US LOOK AT WHAT AMERICA *HAS* DONE.

(i) The Lease and Lend Bill has become law. (March 11) 9,000,000,000 dollars (*!*) has been already voted for help to BRITAIN.

(ii) On March 14 a great convoy of material aid for BRITAIN set out, and has since arrived—one of many sendings.

(iii) 69 Axis-controlled ships were seized in American harbours.

(iv) One half of all American military aircraft production goes to BRITAIN. The present production and delivery is 1,000 a month. By September, this is to be 1,800!

(v) The American Fleet is now to mount guard in the **enormously widespread** "American Territorial Waters" to warn **all** shipping against the "marauding U-boats or surface raiders of both Axis Powers."

Yes, it is right that we concentrate attention on this fourth category of American 'news'. Hitler and Mussolini, too, are doing so!!

Our "Mighty Man of Valour." It is nice to find a private conviction authoritatively confirmed at once! When I started these notes, I did not yet know that BRITAIN'S great Premier was to broadcast on April 27th, but I wrote the last sentence of the third paragraph of this article very deliberately. With what magnificent assurance does Mr. Churchill promulgate the same sentiment—and people will believe it when *he* says it! Hitler CANNOT win this war, he says *tout court*, because BRITAIN and AMERICA will see that he doesn't—by virtue of a right cause, and overwhelming superiority in man-power, material resources, and maritime supremacy. Truly "it would be boastful to say more, and foolish to believe less."

BRITAIN SPEAKS.

B. B. C. Talks 31st March 1941.

To-night ***J. B. Priestley*** *sets out to give you a new picture of the war, what it is really all about, and why it is being fought.*

GOOD EVENING.

To-night I want you to listen to me with close attention, because I propose to sketch for you a view of this war that may seem strange, and may be to many of you, at first unacceptable. It is worth your attention. I am not speaking lightly. As I was telling you before, this is a war between this and that, fascism and democracy, totalitarianism and liberty and so forth, but now I want to add a new, and I believe more fundamental definition of it. It is among other things, at root a war between the masses and the people. I mean by that of course, that the conflict is between two radically different conceptions of human beings in general, and that most conceptions can be labelled "the masses" and "the people". Now, I am convinced that Hitler thinks always in terms of the masses, and this explains why he has had so much success so far, and why I believe ultimately he will fail. What are the masses? To begin with they are essentially a product of the modern world, and hardly existed before the last war. They are human beings reduced to a few simple instincts and appetites. They have no names, no forces, and no soul—they are going neither to heaven nor hell, but into oblivion, when finally in death the pleasure of being machinery ceases at last to function. They are not the children of God. Indeed they are not the children of their own parents, or later on, the parents of their own children, for with them the life of the family is decaying. They are a great hairy headed horde, moving in and out of factories and various places of amusement. They have no roots. Before our time any despot was condemned once and for all when he began to uproot whole populations and send them into exile. This was the very peak of heartless and soulless tyranny, but you will notice that this is one of Hitler's favourite devices, he is forever shifting 100,000 folk here and 100,000 there. Why? Because he feels he is dealing with the masses, who have no roots, no homes, no deep attachment to anything, and can be moved like pieces on a chess board.

Abraham Lincoln, who knew a great deal about the people, warned us that all the people, couldn't be fooled all the time, but if you read "Mein Kampf" you will find it is a text book on how to deceive the masses, who only ask, in Hitler's view, to be fooled all the time. There runs through all his account of them, a terrible contempt and so long as he is thinking

in terms of the masses, I don't blame him. If you believe in the existence of these grave, soul-less hordes then if you have any sense and spirit in you, you will take care to separate yourself from them as soon as possible, and will begin to discover how best to manipulate them. Alternately you will bully and tickle them, at times wheedling them forward, and at other times restlessly driving them on. If millions of them should perish it doesn't matter, for what are they? Nothing, but miserable little bundles of instincts and appetites–in India and China there are hundreds and hundreds of millions of them. When the masters have used them all up in Europe, they can go to India and China and begin using them up there. There is, you may be sure, devilish reasoning of this kind passing through the mind of men like Hitler. They see these masses really as paranoic and please notice this, that all the men everywhere who tend to think along these lines, dehumanising their fellow creatures, considering them first as so much labour for the factories, so much weight of flesh to be transported, so many standardised appetites to be fed simply for gain, so much potential profit, so much man power for armies and munition work–I say then such men can't help looking with a certain favour upon Nazism, simply because they share with it this conception of the masses. This conception confers upon them some benefit–you can work with ruthless forceulness and efficiency, there needn't be much argument and debate, you can give ruthless orders, you can punish with tyrannous severity, you can produce easy wars by appealing to all the latent instincts and appetites, you can, if necessary, corrupt those instincts and appetites, you needn't worry any longer about scruples, you need be no more compassionate than you would in staring into an ant hill, and everywhere you will find not friends, or friendships belonging to some other world you have left behind, but fellow conspirators, temporary allies, tools, dupes, all in the ranks of those who also look about them and see not the people, but the masses. Therefore I say, find me the man who, no matter what his avowed political opinions may be, has evinced some sneaking sympathy with Nazism and its works, who begins to mutter that the future belongs to some form of totalitarianism, and I will show you a man whose mind is already poisoned by this notion of the masses. This explains why some well-known personages, who have not been liberally rewarded by democracy, have exhibited surprising Nazis sympathies. Their experience, for one reason or another has for them turned the people into the masses.

Now we live in an age of machines, which not only produce for us in peace time, but also, it seems, fight our wars for us. For the masses, it can be said that they are at home, if they can ever be called at home, in this age of machines. They sell machines all day, and are amused by machines at night, and apparently they ask for nothing better. Does

the future belong to them, or rather to the unscrupulous and indeed evil men who manipulate them? That is what many persons believe, and they believe it because they can no longer see people, but only the masses. They may not wear a swastika on their arms, or raise their hands in salute, but at heart they are all Nazis, they are literary Nazis, who can no longer write about the people but only about the few chosen spirits like themselves, set against the vast grey background of the masses. And against all that, I say, we are fighting. We are fighting not for the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes, not for shapes and colours on a map, not for markets and profit, but in order that the people should not vanish and their place be taken by the masses.

Now, what are people? I'll tell you first what they are not; they are not a nameless, grave, multi-headed horde to be carted about like so many parcels of labour. They are not innumerable little parcels of instincts and appetites, to be alternately bullied and tickled, they are not so many units of Empire, they are the people! What has come from them? Let me answer that question—Everything comes from the people, they all have names and faces and individual dispositions, and secret hopes and fears and terrible and beautiful dreams, and you may meet them in the plays of Shakespeare, the pictures of Rembrandt and the music of Beethoven—they are simply our brothers and sisters, they are the children of God. You all know how the people of this country have behaved during the last eight months, how, to the amazement of the Nazis, these folk have not only come through one ordeal after another but have revealed time after time, great qualities, showing the world an example of courage and hopefulness in distress, and loving kindness. But there is no reason to be surprised, unless, you too should be a Nazi at heart, and think in terms of the masses. But these were no masses. I guess we have no masses here, and God willing, shall never have any.

I have said that it seems to many persons as if the future belongs to the totalitarian world, to the evil friendships of the Nazis. They think that the Nazis and the machines will win, but I believe that in the end the people must win, because ingrained in the principle of faith and hope is the principle of life itself. This to me is democracy,......steady, patient co-operation with our brothers and sisters. Hitler's command of his masses is based on fear, but we should never fail to realise that though fear may move men powerfully, and work its own evil wonders, love can work still greater wonders. The masses can only know fear, but the people know love, because they have hearts and minds and souls, and victory will rest with the people.

GOOD NIGHT.

GERMAN AIR STRENGTH

A DETAILED ANALYSIS

by

Major Oliver Stewart, of "The Observer".

(Though the analysis below, by London's leading broadcaster on aerial warfare, is some two months old now, it seems to answer for the first time, and in useful detail, one of the questions which is most frequently asked, and to which we have hitherto been unable to give an accurate reply. Ed.).

FRESH information about German air strength reached me last week from a completely trustworthy source. It enables me to carry the examination I made in these columns a fortnight ago a stage further, and to present a comprehensive and fairly detailed picture of the enemy aircraft concentrations which are now ranged against us.

In the first place, the actual German first-line air strength at the present time is certainly not greater than my estimate of five to six thousand machines, and may, in fact, be rather under 5,000. This brings it a great deal below most other estimates, though it is to be remarked that an effective first-line strength of anything over 4,000 aeroplanes constitutes an enormously powerful air force.

It must be mentioned again that first-line strength is fighting strength, and must not be confused with the absolute total number of aircraft in Germany. That figure, when all training aircraft and light aeroplanes and indeed everything with wings are included, might well be 35,000. But it has little bearing upon effectiveness in battle. Even the aircraft on the first-line strength are obviously not effective for twenty-four hours out of the twenty-four. Work has to be done on them, and at any given moment only a proportion is actually serviceable.

If the first-line strength of the German Air Force at the present time is accepted at slightly below 5,000 aircraft, the proportions are as follows: Long-range bombers form the largest group with between 1,500 and 1,600 machines. Only slightly below the long-range bombers come the fighters, with 1,500 machines. Of these two-thirds are single-engined fighters and one-third twin-engined.

The dive bombers come next with 750 aircraft, and the reconnaissance aircraft, which can also be used as bombers and are fitted to carry bombs, at 450. It will be seen, therefore, that the *Luftwaffe* has a very powerful striking force, and that it forms a large proportion of the entire German air fleet.

Aircraft equipped for bombing number a total of some 2,700 or 2,800 aircraft. This figure, however, does not include the German machines which are comparable to our Coastal Command aircraft. These form an additional three or four hundred. The army co-operation aircraft are also available for short range, tactical bombing, and the Germans have three or four hundred of these on their first-line strength.

The German Army co-operation aeroplane is the Henschel 126. It is a parasol monoplane resembling in many respects our own Westland Lysander Army co-operation machine. Its top speed is only about 220 miles an hour, but it has an exceptionally low landing speed which suits it for operating from advanced landing grounds when working with ground troops.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the German Air Force is the shallowness of the reserves. These amount to about 3,000 serviceable aircraft.

The position in general is therefore hopeful. British production rates have been steadily going up, and United States aid has been mounting at an increasing rate. The figures I have given for the German Air Force, which may be regarded as the most authentic available in this country at the present moment, may be read in conjunction with an important new article by Mr. T. P. Wright which appears in the American paper "*Aviation*," for January.

Mr. Wright is vice-president of Engineering, the Curtiss-Wright Corporation, and is Consultant to the United States National Defence Advisory Commission. Many months ago Mr. Wright contributed an interesting study to the problems of production, co-relating them to floor-space and labour available. This time he gives his estimates of the position in total forces and in production rates.

He speaks always in absolute totals, including all types of aircraft, including trainers, and not in first line machines. It is essential to bear that in mind when looking through his figures. He puts Germany's absolute total at 35,000 machines to-day and Britain's absolute total at 25,000. He estimates that the absolute totals will be equal by July as between Germany and Great Britain without counting Italy's strength.

On rate of aircraft production, Mr. Wright shows our present output at 1,650 per month and the German at 2,000. He puts the present United States output at a little over 750 machines a month, and the estimated output by July at 1,600. Most impressive of all is a series of curves indicating the trend of output in the Axis Powers and in Great Britain and the United States.

Whereas Mr. Wright believes that the Axis output curve, as well as the curve for British factories, is beginning to tail off, he shows the curve of

United States output as beginning to sweep up towards the peak which will take it beyond Axis output before the end of the present year, and will thereafter carry it far beyond the reach of the best possible Axis effort.

This estimate conforms with what we know of American large-scale production abilities when they are fully brought into play. Of design excellence Mr. Wright remarks: "The marked superiority in the fighter class of England's Supermarine Spitfire and Hawker Hurricane, both with eight ·303 calibre, wing-mounted machine-guns, and of the Vickers Wellington and other bombers equipped with power-operated machine-gun turrets, over aeroplanes of their German adversaries, accounts in part for the superlative morale of the young pilots of the Royal Air Force, who have saved the day for Britain (and, as well, for Civilisation)."

Mr. Wright's earlier estimate of the aircraft position of the warring countries created a great stir, and has been quoted far and wide at intervals ever since. This new estimate will almost certainly attract equal attention, for it contains much of interest on the special engineering problems of output.

Finally, a warning may be uttered about the figures that have been quoted. They do not mean that the German Air Force is much weaker than we thought. They mean only that its strength has been over-estimated in public discussion. The Royal Air Force has never been able to subscribe to the views that have been uttered about air force strength in public.

The German Air Force, at the strengths given, is immensely powerful. There is every need for further prodigious efforts on our part to build up the strength of the Royal Air Force at the fastest possible rate, with both aircraft designed and built in this country and with aircraft sent over from America.

It is evident, however, that the fighter position is now more favourable to this country than it has been at any previous time in the war. If a similar situation can be brought about in the bombers, and if the Coastal Command, with its special duties in the protection of shipping, can be strengthened, the opportunity will be afforded us for taking and holding the initiative in the air on whatever front the next moves may be made.

The calls on the Royal Air Force are many and increasing. The air reinforcements sent to Singapore are but one side of the picture. There are likely to be demands for more intensive air action in other theatres. In Africa already the Royal Air Force has been active, and it is now having to tackle German attempts to interfere with operations there. It dominated the Italian Air Force completely, and it will dominate the German Air Force in that area. But it will need a continuous stream of reinforcements. The production is now such that it can have them.

APRIL, AMERICA'S HISTORIC MONTH OF DESTINY

NO GOING BACK ON AID TO BRITAIN POLICY

Don Iddon, cabling to the ***Daily Mail*** *from New York, says:*

By pointing out that in the United States in the past, April has always been the month for declaring a state of hostilities, I am not suggesting for a moment that America is going to declare war on Germany this April, though it is not out of the question.

Machine-gunning by the Nazis of one of the Atlantic Clippers, or sinking of an American ship, would undoubtedly provide the necessary inflammatory incident if the Germans were impetuous enough to blunder in that manner, but this is not likely.

However, it is the historic American month of destiny. The question of United States convoys is likely to be resolved this month, with the latest unofficial information indicating that the President, despite his power to authorise them without further legislation, will let Congress vote on the matter.

If he does, the battle will be long and fierce, but, unless Congress wishes to turn American foreign policy as established by the Lease and Lend Act upside down, it will have to approve of convoys.

There is no drawing back now. The President has promised that American armaments will get to Britain and, if United States warships are necessary to assure their safe arrival, then they will be forthcoming.

RIGHT OF U. S. TO TAKE OVER AXIS SHIPS

WHAT HAPPENED IN LAST WAR

by

Prof. A. H. Goodhart

(In a recent B. B. C. talk).

One of the biggest head-aches of the Axis at the moment is the placing of guards on ships they have lying in United States harbours and the ports of South American countries. Germany and Italy both know that there are ample precedents, and Professor A. H. Goodhart, the well-known United States jurist, knows that the United States' move is fully justified by international law.

To understand the present situation, it is necessary to understand the last war. When that war began in August 1914, a large number of German ships were in American harbours.

When the United States declared war in 1917, they were seized; but it was found that the engines of many of them had been irretrievably ruined and much other damage done to them. Some ships were scuttled at the docks, others set on fire.

To prevent such sabotage in the future, Congress passed a permanent Espionage Act in June 1917. This provides that, whenever the President declares a national emergency to exist, then **the Secretary of the Treasury may take full possession of foreign vessels in American territorial waters**, if it is in the national interest for him to do so.

It was under this law that Secretary Morgenthau took over 28 Italian, 2 German, and 39 Danish ships, totalling 300,000 tons before their crews could complete the sabotage which had been planned.

Having taken these ships into safe custody, what will the United States do with them?

Here a second and most important principle comes into play. **Under nternational law, every nation has what is known as the right of angary. This provides that if a nation has a pressing need for ships, it may requisition foreign vessels in its territorial waters, subject to the payment of fair compensation.**

Although this right is usually exercised by belligerents, it is frankly recognised that non-belligerents may also exercise it when it is necessary to their own interests.

The United States will, therefore, be acting in strict accordance with international law if they requisition these ships.

In the last war a large number of non-belligerent countries requisitioned German ships. In 1915, Italy requisitioned 37 ships although the two countries were then still at peace. In 1916, Portugal took over 72 German ships. In 1917, Brazil 40 ships. In 1918, Peru and Spain took similar steps, Spain seizing over 90 vessels. Although Germany protested at this, she was careful not to declare war on Spain and Peru.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Nazis, remembering this history, have ordered some of their ships now in South American ports to scuttle themselves.

But with the example of the United States before them, it is unlikely that the great South American republics will allow the Germans and the Italians to destroy this shipping.

There are over 56 Italian, 40 German, and 50 neutral vessels, under Axis control there, all of them ocean-going types. As these South American countries have all suffered from the war which the Nazis brutally forced on the world, there is no reason why they should not recoup themselves in some small degree by using these vessels.

Examples of Misleading Statements in Enemy Broadcasts to India and the Near East for the period April 13—20, 1941.

A.—BROADCASTS IN ENGLISH.

THE PHANTOM ARMY.

The German wireless lost no time in getting in some good, hard lying on the question of actual operations in the Balkans. On April 14, Berlin announced that "no British forces whatsoever have yet been in evidence"—gaily oblivious of the fact that, on April 6, the same station had reported that German troops were meeting with stubborn resistance from British and New Zealand forces in the Struma Valley!

On April 15, the Germans—forgetting that 24 hours previously they had cast strong doubts on the presence of British troops there—issued a touching bulletin as follows: "The German troops were greeted as liberators by the inhabitants of Salonika, the victims of a reign of terror established for a week by British troops, who spared no effort to destroy the property and endanger the lives of their Greek allies."

A JOB WELL DONE.

Apart from the fact that strategic necessity demanded that bridges, railway tracks, power stations, and all public utility services likely to benefit the enemy should be destroyed before the Allied withdrawal, it should be remembered that **whatever action was taken was ordered by the Greek High Command, with the full approval of the Greek Government.**

British Army lorry-drivers did an heroic job in evacuating Greek wounded from the Salonika area while the gallant Nazi airmen machine-gunned them mercilessly. British and Australian sappers carried on with their vital task of demolition and sabotage even while the German forces were entering the city. **The Nazis' base and baseless assertions are a measure of their annoyance at the efficiency with which these jobs were carried out.**

AFRICAN HAZARDS.

There has been a good deal of wishful thinking in the German radio comments on the North African situation this week. Thus, on April 14, Berlin said: "Both Benghazi and Bardia having been occupied by German and Italian troops, all the gain of General Wavell's offensive has been lost by the British".

This dictum leaves out of account the fact that General Wavell's primary object was not the occupation of Cyrenaica, **but the destruction of the vast Italian army which Marshal Graziani had assembled on the Egyptian frontier.** That objective was completely achieved, and the very fact that the Germans have had to rush so many troops into Tripolitania reveals how crushing was the defeat inflicted on the Italians. Enormous Italian losses in man-power, including at least 170,000 men taken prisoner, together with vast quantities of weapons, stores and ammunition, are some of the gains of General Wavell's Libyan advance which have NOT been lost by the British.

Moreover, the Wavell offensive had two phases—in Italian East Africa, as well as in Libya. **Discreetly enough, Berlin says nothing about Mussolini's losses (and Britain's gains) in Somaliland, Eritrea and Abyssinia, as a result of which President Roosevelt has now declared the Red Sea open to American shipping loaded with supplies for the Allies.**

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN.

The Battle of Britain—which is so rapidly becoming the Battle of Germany as well—has also been giving Goebbels a good deal of trouble lately. On April 16, his wireless announced that, while the R.A.F. had to pay dearly for any attempt to enter occupied territory by day, the *Luftwaffe* was continuing its successful bombing activity over Britain in broad daylight.

This statement represents almost the exact opposite of the truth. **On four days out of the seven immediately preceding April 16, not a single German bomb fell on the British Isles by daylight, and only very slight raiding activity was reported during the remaining three days.** On the other hand, the R.A.F's. daylight programme for that week included raids on industrial objectives in the Ruhr, naval, air and military installations on Borkum Island, the battleships *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* at Brest, factories, railways, powerstations and other targets in Norway, Denmark, Holland and France, and the usual routine attacks on enemy shipping. **In all these operations, the R.A.F. lost five bombers and two fighters—not a heavy price for a week's highly successful daylight activities.**

B.—BROADCASTS IN ASIATIC LANGUAGES.

BRITAIN'S CONTINUING AID FOR HER ALLIES.

Indicative of the German propaganda methods is a lie broadcast on April 15, that Britain had berrayed Greece. Actually, however, as Lord Halifax recently stated, **in order to support Greece, Britain deliberately weakened her position in North Africa.** Britain was well aware of the risk, but she recognised

her duty to her gallant ally and decided to give Greece all aid in her power. And, it is due to this pledge, voluntarily undertaken, that the British and the Greeks are to-day fighting their common foe in Greece.

Mr. SPENDER ON HITLER'S PROGRAMME.

The Nazis' Hindustani and Arabic broadcasts of April 16 misquoted the B. B. C. as having stated that the Australian Army Minister, Mr. P.C. Spender, had said, "Since France's defeat, Britain is in a miserable predicament." This is only typhical of how the Nazis invent what they call news. What Mr. Spender, said was that the Empire was about to pass through her greatest test since the collapse of France. Mr. Spender also added: "Hitler is staking his all on the next six months but, when we have ridden the storm, he will be doomed."

THE ALL-EATING HERRENVOLK SPIDER.

The Nazi broadcasts in Hindustani, Persian and Arabic stated on April 17 that the Norwegians still remember how the British deceived them last year by withdrawing from Norway. **The fact, however, is that despite this alleged "deception", the Norwegians** still **work and hope for a British victory.** As Mr. Johan Nygardsvold, the Norwegian Prime Minister, recently stated, "Norway has but one programme—to liberate the country from foreign rule and rid her of Quisling and his men, who have sold Norway into slavery."

"LONDON CAN TAKE IT."

On April 17, the German broadcasts in Hindustani, Persian and Arabic conveniently quoted an unnamed London correspondent of an Argentine paper as stating that the British are "trembling in fear like a delicate stick". The U. S. A.'s new Ambassadar in England, Mr. John Winant, who toured the London districts after the worst raid that city had experienced, recently paid a magnificent tribute to the courage of the people, ending up with the remarks "Now I know what 'London can take it' means."

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

WAR FILMS

The War Information Bureau have great pleasure in announcing that with the sanction and kind assistance of the Darbar their Lecturers will shortly be able to take round with them a series of Film programmes illustrative of the War in its various aspects.

These programmes consist in part of actual cinematography in war zones by the 20th Century Fox Film Corporation, and partially of cognate Indian subjects photographed by the organisation set up for the purpose by the Government of India, through the Bombay Government. There are three separate pictures in each programme, and the Bureau feel sure that they will prove a welcome addition to the lectures, and to the Weekly Bulletin.

The War Fund Entertainments Committee have been good enough to present the Bureau with a Station-wagon in which to convey the projectors, screens and films to the lecture centres, but in order to facilitate the working of the new lecture-programme necessary to provide some sixty centres in the State with a fresh cinema-show once every month, we particularly request the public of Pudukkottai to :—

(*a*) note that the usual time of the lecture will be **6.00 p. m.** or **6.30 p. m.** (as notified).

(*b*) **be absolutely punctual** at these lectures, since the War Information Bureau van will have to serve two centres on same evening.

Practical experience proves that at least one thousand persons can see these films with comfort, so when you hear of a Lecture announced for your village,

COME........BUT BE PUNCTUAL.

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

OF THE

Pudukkottai State War Information Bureau.

LECTURE XLII.

1941— May	... 3, Saturday ...	Town Hall	...	6.30 p. m.
	4, Sunday ...	Kolavoipatti	...	6.00 p. m.
		Venkatakulam	...	6.30 p. m.
	5, Monday ...	Thiruvarangulam	...	6.00 p. m.
		Vamban	...	6.30 p. m.
	6, Tuesday ...	Melur	...	6.00 p. m.
		Pillamangalam	...	6.30 p. m.
	7, Wednesday	Kadayakkudi	...	6.00 p. m.
		Mirattunilai	...	6.30 p. m.
	8, Thursday ...	Vellanur	...	6.00 p. m.
		Puthambur	...	6.30 p. m.
	9, Friday ...	Odukkur	...	6.00 p. m.
		Nanguppatti	...	6.30 p. m.

LECTURE XLIII.

10, Saturday ...	Town Hall	...	6.30 p. m.
11, Sunday ...	Kiranur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Nanjur	...	6.30 p. m.
12, Monday ...	Arimalam	...	6.00 p. m.
	Kilanilaikottai	...	6.30 p. m.
13, Tuesday ...	Perungalur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Adanakkottai	...	6.30 p. m.
14, Wednesday	Poovarasagudi	...	6.00 p. m.
	Kilayur (south)	...	6.30 p. m.
15, Thursday ...	Odayalippatti	...	6.00 p. m.
	Killukottai	...	6.30 p. m.
16, Friday ...	Nallur	...	6.00 p. m.
	Mandaiyur	...	6.30 p. m.

SUPPORT

THE STATE WAR EFFORT

BY TAKING TICKETS IN THE

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The State War Fund Entertainments Committee,
with the authority and under the auspices of the Darbar

CLOSING DATE 15-6-41 ∻ DRAW ON 23-6-41

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100	,,	,,	50	,,
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